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ABSTRACT

A study compared local and non-local coverage across three market sizes in two states (Michigan and Oregon) and examined the extent to which the use of news gathering technologies differed across market size. The study was a replication and extension of a 13-year old study by William C. Adams and explored the possible impact of technological advances during those years. All weekday newscasts at six Michigan stations and eight Oregon stations were studied during a 2-week period from November 30 to December 11 1987. The stories were categorized on the basis of locale of story, use of satellite newsgathering equipment by a station's reporters, and length of story. The content analysis for the 14 stations yielded 3,029 stories for the 10 days' newscasts. Results indicated: (1) large market stations devoted less of their coverage to local news than did small market stations; (2) local television news departments are beginning to vary from the "localism doctrine" by increasing their national and international coverage; and (3) despite the notoriety of satellite news gathering (SNG) and the increased national and international coverage found in this sample, only 40 stories from 7 stations involved used this equipment. (Twenty-two notes and four tables of data are included.) (RS)

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The "Localism Doctrine" and Use of SNG Vehicles:

A Study of Geographic Coverage by Local Television News

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The question of how local television news departments allocate newscast time to local coverage is as compelling today as it was 13 years ago. Then Adams[1] asked the question for two reasons. First, television stations had smaller "newsholes" than local newspapers and, therefore, had to be more discriminating than newspapers in covering the various localities within their markets. Discovering how local stations' news departments allocated newscast time, Adams wrote, would provide insight into the decision-making of local news directors.

The second reason developed from the public policy known as the "localism doctrine."[2] Adams believed that finding out how stations covered stories within their coverage areas would indicate the extent to which they were fulfilling the requirements of the doctrine.

Today, the question of local news content is just as important as it was then, but the reasons have changed. News directors still face the difficult coverage decisions that result from relatively small newsholes. But the choices are simplified to some extent by the lengthening of newscasts, especially in the early evening.

Perhaps a more compelling reason for studying local television news content is the resource-allocation issue stemming from technological advances that have led at least one researcher to question previous definitions of local news.[3] As Barkin points out, cable, microwave and satellite technology have expanded, if not eliminated, geographic barriers for local television news. Theoretically, this fact forces television news directors to be even more discriminating than before when it comes to decisions on which localities to cover, despite possible expansion of newscast time. It also means important decisions regarding the allocation of equipment and staff.

The present study attempts to replicate and extend Adams' research about local news coverage in order to examine the possible impact of technological advances during the last 13 years. The study compares local and non-local coverage across two market sizes in two states and examines the extent to which the use of new news-gathering technologies differs across market size.

The comparisons allow the researchers to explore the possible existence of "umbrella" competition in the local television news industry. Umbrella competition is the term given to intercity competition in the newspaper industry.[4] It refers to newspaper competition that takes form in four layers. The first layer is composed of large metropolitan dailies, which provide a large amount of international, national and regional coverage. The second layer is made up of smaller satellite dailies similar to the metropolitan dailies but more local in the nature of their coverage. The third layer is made up of suburban daily newspapers, which are very local. The fourth layer is composed of weekly newspapers and shoppers. Rosse hypothesized that newspaper competition exists between the layers more so than within the layers.

Recent research shows that geographic differentiation has formed the basis for umbrella competition.[5] That is, as competition moves down in layers, news organizations increase local coverage to differentiate themselves from potential competitors from higher layers. Higher-layer news organizations take on the function of providing news about broader geographic areas in an effort to differentiate themselves from the local lower-layer organizations. The use of microwave and satellite transmission technologies by television news departments and the expansion of cable television

suggests the possibility that a similar model is applicable to the local television news industry.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of American television news content during the last 20 years has typically meant the study of network newscasts. Barkin has attributed this to "substantive interest in national news" and the accessibility of archival videotapes of network newscasts.[6] The result of the focus on national network newscasts is a scarcity of research on local television news content.

Recent content research on local TV news focuses on a few main issues: story diversity and variety within particular markets, story selection, and the gatekeeping function of local television news personnel across markets. Researchers have rarely framed their studies within the context of resource allocation or technological advances, although some have suggested economic or technological explanations for their findings.

For example, Nestvold[7] speculated that economic reasons explained the difference in local-market story diversity between independent VHF stations and UHF stations. VHF independents, he suggested, had stronger signals than their UHF competitors and, therefore, could attract larger audiences and greater advertising revenues. More financial resources would allow the VHF stations to offer more extensive local news coverage than the UHFs.

Two studies by Atwater also hint at resource allocation or technological explanations for their findings. The first found evidence that variety in local newscasts -- defined by the number of "unique" stories in the market's newscasts -- was related to the number of stations in the market and, consequently, market size.[8]

The researcher concluded that the relationship may be a function of newscast length. That is, stations in larger markets tend to have longer early-evening newscasts and, therefore, more time for "unique" stories. This conclusion also leads to resource-allocation questions: How are stations filling this additional time? Are they devoting a proportionate amount of time to local events and issues? Or are they increasing their geographic coverage outside their area of dominant influence?

Atwater's second study[9] found that within the three markets observed, duplication occurs in half the stories, mostly spot news and scheduled events. Atwater said the logistical needs of television news could explain his results. These needs also have technological and resource-allocation implications.

Although most of the studies of local television news employ content analysis as the methodology, one study of story selection and gatekeeping used a survey-research design. Buckalew's study of small- and large-market news editors showed a relationship between market size and news judgment. News directors in small markets preferred stories where proximity, and not timeliness, was the key element of newsworthiness; the opposite was true for those working in large markets.[10]

On the basis of this finding and evidence from the work of Olien, Donohue and Tichenor on small and large daily newspapers, Carroll expected differences in local television news content based on market size.[11] He hypothesized small-market news departments would devote more of their newsholes to coverage of local, civic-minded activities, while large-market newsholes would have more conflict-oriented stories and perhaps more enterprise stories.

Partial support existed for the hypothesis on the basis of "average number of minutes" devoted to the category in a half-hour newscast. This raises a measurement issue of whether "newshole" was actually taken into account. Even though the small-market station and the large-market station each had half-hour newscasts, the total amount of news within the time period -- the newshole -- may have differed depending on the time allotted to advertising, sports and weather.

Finally, Adams found that, in four markets of varying sizes, stations devoted large portions of their newsholes to coverage of the city of license. He suggested that, given the organizational factors of local TV news operations at the time (1976), the focus on the central city was "the easiest approach for local broadcast journalists to take."[12] Those organizational factors included: an acknowledgement that the central city had more potential viewers than other localities; equipment and personnel limitations; the costs associated with covering more distant locations; and the imposition of tougher deadlines for coverage outside the central city. These factors and news-gathering routines of central-city coverage, Adams wrote, limited coverage of outlying areas.

The tendency to cover local issues and events was also found in research by Wulfemeyer.[13] He studied the three affiliate stations in San Diego and found that only 17 percent of their "newshole" was devoted to issues and events outside San Diego County. These stations had even more local coverage than those studied by Adams.

Many of the organizational factors and routines that were common when Adams conducted his study remain today. However, technological advances in newsgathering and transmission have provided the potential

for local television news to expand beyond the central city. In order to examine the impact of some of these changes, this study will address three research questions:

1. Do television news departments in large markets provide less local coverage than those in smaller markets?

2. How does geographic coverage by these Michigan and Oregon TV news departments compare to coverage by the Pennsylvania stations studied by Adams?

3. Does the geographic emphasis of stories that use satellite news-gathering technology differ from the emphasis of stories that do not use satellite news-gathering technology?

The first question addresses the idea of television umbrella competition. It asks if metropolitan television stations differ from those that serve what would be called "satellite cities" in the model of newspaper competition. It may be that metropolitan stations carried in a wider geographic area by cable companies are using technology to expand their coverage and, therefore, audience. This of course could lead to a wider geographic area in which to sell advertising.

The second question concerns the issue of "localism." While these markets are not the same as those studied by Adams and cannot strictly demonstrate that the local emphasis has changed, differences in geographic coverage may suggest whether this possibility needs additional attention. A decrease in local coverage, relative to results of Adams and Wulfemeyer, would warrant further study about the possible impact of technology on localism.

The third question aims at helping to clarify the first and second. Even if evidence of umbrella competition and changes in local

coverage are not found, evidence that SNG technology is being used extensively for non-local coverage would suggest a trend toward umbrella competition and declining local coverage may be imminent.

METHOD

This study focused on local television news in Michigan and Oregon. The station selection was one of convenience because the local newscasts would have to be taped or the news departments would have to provide scripts of the newscasts. Within these states, the stations in the largest metropolitan areas, Detroit and Portland, were selected. Stations in Lansing, Michigan, and Eugene, Oregon, were also selected. Finally, the stations in Alpena, Michigan, and Bend, Oregon, were selected as isolated small-market stations.[14]

Because of limited taping facilities, some newscasts were taped, while others were analyzed by using scripts.[15] Of the seven Michigan stations and eight Oregon stations, only one was excluded from the study. The Alpena station originally agreed to send scripts but later declined.

The early evening newscasts were studied for all of the stations, except two. The Detroit independent station WKBD only had a 30-minute newscast at 10 p.m., and the Portland independent station KPTV had an hour newscast at 10 p.m. The early evening newscasts were used because it is during this period that stations offer expanded newscasts, the early evening newscasts generally have larger audiences, and most stations consider the early evening newscast their cornerstone local newscast.

All weekday newscasts were studied during a two-week period from November 30 to December 11. One unusual news event occurred during this period. The visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to the United States

occurred during the first few days of the second week.

The content in two Portland and all Detroit newscasts was analyzed using video tape, while the content of two stations in Portland and all stations in Eugene, Bend and Lansing were analyzed using scripts provided by the stations. Small portions of the closing stories from one Detroit and two Portland stations were not taped because of timing problems with the video recorders. The time missed was relatively short. This did not effect the story count. Estimates of the story lengths were based on the usual lengths of these newscasts.

A more serious problem arose with the use of scripts in three of the six small- and medium-markets stations. The scripts made it impossible to estimate times of stories and newsholes for these stations. All large-market stations had times for stories, either from tapes or on the scripts. Analysis of newshole was limited to those stations with times available, although story counts were figured for all stations.

Stories were categorized on the basis of locale of story, use of satellite newsgathering equipment by station's reporters, and length of story. Locale of story was categorized as central city of area of dominant influence, central county of dominant influence, ADI outside of central county, state, regional, national, or international.[16]

Use of satellite newsgathering equipment was defined as stories that used SNG and involved the station's reporters. SNG use was present when there was a logo explicitly stating the use of SNG during the report or when the geographic location of the broadcast exceeded the range of microwave equipment. For example, a live report from Washington, D. C., using a staff member from the station would have been classified as using satellite equipment. Satellite network feeds

were not included because the study was examining the resources of local news departments.

The story length was determined in seconds from the first word of an introduction until the last word of a story. In addition, the total newshole was determined by adding the length of all of the stories. This excluded the promotions before breaks and any exchange among journalists not related to stories.

Reliability for the coding of tape and scripts were determined separately. Two sets of two coders were used. One set analyzed tapes, while the other analyzed scripts. Each had two reliability checks of a newscast before coding began. In the first reliability check for the script coders, agreement was 76 percent for locale and 100 percent for SNG use. The disagreement for locale was due to one coder's failure to consult a map properly. The second reliability check dealt only with locale. Agreement increased to 84 percent.[17]

The first reliability for the tape coders included three coders because original plans called for three coders to be used for tapes. This was changed and only two analyzed the tapes. The percent of agreement for the categories was 87 percent for locale and 81 percent for SNG equipment use. The second check included only the two coders who actually coded the tapes. The percentage of agreement was 94 percent for locale and 76 percent for SNG equipment use. The lower agreement for SNG use on the second coding was due to one coder misreading the coding definitions for three stories. With this corrected, the agreement would have been 94 percent.[18]

Coding of the tapes required timing of the stories. The two coders who coded the tapes both timed the same 23 stories. They averaged 1.57 seconds difference for the stories. Since the stories

averaged 69.4 seconds, the difference represented a disagreement of 2 percent, which was acceptable. Since scripts with time had the times explicitly listed, a reliability test for length in scripts was not necessary.

Market size was defined as large and small. Large included stations in Detroit and Portland. These correspond to the metro layer of umbrella competition. Small markets included all others. The term small here is one of convenience because two of the markets usually are listed as medium-size markets. If the umbrella model applies to television news, it would have only two layers, excluding the networks.

RESULTS

The content analysis of the 14 stations yielded 3,029 stories for the 10 days' newscasts -- an average of 21.6 stories per newscast. The newscasts averaged 52 minutes each. One station had a two-hour newscast, two had 90 minute newscasts, three had one hour newscasts, and the remainder had 30 minute newscasts.

Interestingly, only 40 stories were classified as using satellite newsgathering technology. Twenty-five of these were broadcast on two stations -- one in Detroit and one in Portland. These two stations were the only ones that owned an SNG vehicle at the time of this study.

For all newscasts, 29 percent of the stories were about the central city; 14 percent were about the central county; 8 percent were about the ADI outside the central county; 18 percent were about the state in which the station was located, 4 percent were about the region in which the station was located, 16 percent were about the United States outside the region, and 11 percent were about countries

other than the United States.

The first research question asked if stations in large markets provide less local news coverage than stations in smaller markets. Table 1 presents the breakdown of stories by market size. The answer to the question depends on how one defines local. The small market stations had slightly more stories in the three categories about the ADI (central city, central county, and ADI outside of central county) than did the large markets stations. If the three categories are added, large markets devoted 49.3 percent of their stories to their ADI, compared to smaller stations, which devoted 55.1 percent to ADI stories.

The real difference was in areas outside the ADI. Small-market stations devoted 26.7 of their stories to state stories, compared to 13.9 percent for the large-market stations. Meanwhile, the large-market stations gave 19.9 and 12.9 percent of their stories to national and international events and issues, respectively. This was considerably more than the 9 percent national and 6.2 percent international presented by small-market stations.

Table 2 looks at the first research question using percentage of newshole given the locale of story. As mentioned above, only three small-market stations had times of stories available. Only these were used for the small-market newshole percentages in the table. The results in Table 2 are similar to those found with story count. The rank order of locale categories is the same in tables 1 and 2 for small-market stations. Rankings for large-market stations were similar, but central county of ADI coverage ranked fouth in story count and third in newshole allotment. State coverage was third in story count and fifth in newshole allocation, while international news

moved from fifth in story count to fourth in percentage of newshole.

The main differences between large-market and small-market stations were in percentage of newshole devoted to central city, state, national and international news. Small-market stations devoted 41.4 percent of their newsholes to stories about the central city of the ADI, compared to 32.2 percent by large-market stations. Small-market stations gave 18.4 percent of newsholes to state coverage, while large-market stations devoted only 12.1 percent. On the other hand, large-market stations gave 16.2 and 14.2 percent of their time to national and international news, while small-market stations gave only 8 and 6.4 percent of their time to these categories of news.

Coverage of the region outside of the state accounted for a small proportion of both time and number of stories for both size markets. Large-market stations devoted only 4 percent of stories and 3.3 percent of time to these stories, while small-market stations devoted 3 percent of stories and 3.8 percent of time.

The second research question asked how the geographic emphasis of these stations in Oregon and Michigan compared to those stations in Pennsylvania studied by Adams in 1976. Table 3 shows a comparison of large-market stations for the three states. The geographic categories were collapsed to three because of slight variations in coding categories between this research and the Adams study. The comparison is for stories about the ADI, stories about the state and region, and stories about national and international events and issues in large markets only. Because half of the small-market stations had no times available, small-market stations were not analyzed.

The percentage of newsholes devoted to the ADI by large-market

stations was smaller in the Michigan and Oregon samples than in the Pennsylvania sample. The four stations in Portland averaged 51.1 percent of newsholes, while the stations in Detroit averaged 55.9 percent, and the three stations in Pittsburgh averaged 66.7 percent in 1976.

The biggest difference in coverage was in national and international coverage. Detroit stations averaged 33.3 percent, compared to 28.2 percent for Portland stations and 16.1 in Pittsburgh. State and regional coverage varied, with Detroit large-market stations averaging 10.8 percent, while Portland stations averaged 20.7 percent and the Pittsburgh stations averaged 17.2 percent.

The third question asked if geographic emphasis of stories using satellite newsgathering equipment differs from stories that do not use such equipment. Table 4 shows the comparison of the two types of stories. As mentioned above, the most prominent result shown in Table 4 is the low number of stories that used SNG equipment for staff coverage. Only 40 stories used such equipment, compared to 2,989 that did not.

Only seven stations used SNG during this period. Six of them were in Detroit and Portland. WDIV in Detroit used SNG for 15 stories, while KGW in Portland used SNG for 10 stories. The other 15 stories were divided among the other five stations.

The comparison of stories in Table 4 shows that 60 percent of the SNG stories were about international events or issues, compared to only 10.1 percent of stories that did not use SNG. This may reflect the visit of Gorbachev during the second week of the study. However, some of the stories concerning the visit were localized to the particular markets. The remaining SNG stories were distributed fairly

evenly among the other six locale categories.

DISCUSSION

The answer to the first research question appears to be that large-market stations devoted less of their coverage to local news than did small-market stations. The difference was not great for story count, but small-market stations allocated almost 9 percentage points more of their newshole to the central city than did large-market stations. This difference combined with the difference in national and international coverage indicates that large-market stations may be differentiating their coverage by allocating more resources to non-local stories.

The results here are similar to a national study of newspapers[19] that found small-market newspapers carried significantly less foreign news than did medium- and large-market newspapers. Local television news departments in large metropolitan markets may have begun to take on a different function, as defined by content, compared to news departments in smaller cities. This conclusion is consistent with Buckalew's findings that small-market stations were more concerned with proximity, while large-market stations were more concerned with timeliness.

This observation is supported, further, by contrasting these results with Adams' study of Pennsylvania. Although the markets studied here are not strictly comparable to those Adams examined, the 10 percentage points less coverage of the ADI in both Detroit and Portland implies that such a change might have occurred.

Along with the difference in ADI coverage came an increase in national and international coverage by the stations in 1987. This again supports the possibility that local TV news departments are

beginning to vary from the "localism doctrine."

One further piece of evidence concerning this change is the comparison with the San Diego stations studied by Wulfemeyer.[20] His 1979 content analysis found only 17 percent of the newsholes was devoted to non-local news.

The third question asked about differences in the geographic emphasis of news stories that used SNG equipment and those that did not. The most significant result was the low number of stories using SNG. Despite the notoriety of SNG and the increased national and international coverage found in this sample, only 40 stories from seven stations involved this equipment. Two stations accounted for most of this. This result could mean that stations are no longer promoting their SNG use when it involves stories close to the central city, or that stations were still primarily dependent upon microwave for the 118 live stories that were found in the sample. A second station in Detroit has purchased an SNG vehicle since the period of this study.

Interestingly, one small-market station had two SNG stories. This station did not own an SNG truck. This represents the renting of uplink facilities and satellite time to cover stories that the news director deems important -- a practice that avoids the high overhead of an SNG vehicle.

When the SNG and non-SNG stories were compared, the main emphasis of satellite technology was on national and international. This result may well represent the use of SNG to cover the Gorbachev visit to the United States. Thus, the results here could be distorted compared to other times.

While the Gorbachev visit may have distorted the finding

concerning the use of SNG equipment, it is unlikely that this accounted for the fairly heavy emphasis on international and national stories by large-market stations. The large-market stations ran an average of about four stories a night for three nights about the Gorbachev visit. This amounts to 96 stories for all eight stations. If this total is subtracted from the number of stories, the percentage for national and international stories would still be 30 percent of all stories for large markets, which is still considerable greater than results in the Adams and Wulfemeyer studies.

The relatively small use of SNG vehicles is consistent with a 1987 survey that showed a much greater increase in the use of satellite feeds from networks and satellite news networks than in the use of SNG vehicles.[21] It appears that stations increasing coverage outside their regions are doing so by using satellite feeds to put together staff news stories.

What implications do these results hold for local television news? First, there is evidence that large-market stations may be moving away from the heavy emphasis on the central city found in smaller markets. The increased length of some newscasts appears to be devoted primarily to non-local coverage. This study cannot determine why this may be happening, but further study of the possibility seems worthwhile. It may be that news directors assume that their audience is interested in national and international issues and events. It may be that the expanding audience available through cable outside the ADI is attractive to such stations. Thus, the large-market stations differentiate themselves from local small-market stations with national and international news.

The possibility that the "localism doctrine" is not equally

applicable in all markets suggests either it has outlived its usefulness, or different standards should be applied to different types of stations. A station could choose not to be a locally oriented station. Standards for licensing would be different for this type of station.

The evidence that some stations may be developing different news functions through resource allocation is consistent with the "umbrella model" of newspaper competition. As with newspapers, increasing coverage of a given geographic area need not reduce coverage of another if the increased coverage is coming though a larger newshole. The presence in this sample of three newscasts of more than an hour indicates this may be the way some stations are providing more national and international coverage.

Movement toward greater non-ADI coverage could mean increased competition even in already competitive, local-news markets. Large-market stations that carry news about the city of license may not draw many viewers in a cable market removed from that city. If a station differentiates itself with state, national or international news, it could become a substitute for viewers who are not concerned with the local news in that cable market. This competition probably would not have a major impact unless advertising becomes involved. Attracting viewers in a distant market means little if advertising is not sold there. However, this capabaility does exist.

If the movement toward this type of competition should intensify, it could have ramifications on local news content. A study of umbrella competition among daily newspapers found that the percentage of the news section given to news copy and to copy about the city in which the newspaper was located increased as umbrella competition

intensified.[22] Thus, a small-market station facing competition from a large-market station via cable may have to respond by increasing its local coverage or by using more satellite feeds from networks and news services to beef up national and foreign coverage.

The main limitations of this study are that it was not a random sample of news broadcasts and the time period studied included an unusual international news event. The fact that it was not a content analysis of San Diego or Pennsylvania means the differences relative to earlier studies found could be due to geography rather than time. However, the greater emphasis on national and foreign coverage and the decreased emphasis on local coverage found here is enough to warrant additional study.

The basic question remains as to whether developments in distribution and news-gathering technology and corresponding changes in organizational decisions about resource allocation will result in a reshaping of the content emphasis of some local television news. This study indicates this could be happening, but it is probably to early in the technology adoption process to tell for sure.

Additional content analysis of local newscasts, as logistically difficult as they may be, would help answer these questions. A national sample of local newscasts is impractical, but a series of case studies across the county and across time would help track changes in geographic emphasis as adoption of news technology proceeds. This study is a step in that direction.

ENDNOTES

1. William C. Adams, "Local Television News Coverage and the Central City," Journal of Broadcasting, 24:253-265 (Spring 1980).

2. The so-called "localism doctrine" provided the Federal Communications Commission the rationale for frequency allocations. The FCC believed that the desire for television service stemmed from local needs and interests. From that belief came the insistence that stations cover local news and public affairs. See Federal Communications Commission, Sixth Annual Report and Order, adopted April 11, 1952, in Federal Register, Vol. 17 (May 2, 1952), pp. 3905-4100.

3. Steve M. Barkin, "Local Television News," Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 4:79-82 (March 1987).

4. James N. Rosse, "Economic Limits of Press Responsibility." Discussion paper, Stanford University: Studies in Industry Economics, No. 56, 1975.

5. Stephen Lacy, "The Impact of Intercity Competition on Daily Newspaper Content," Journalism Quarterly, 65:399-406 (Summer 1988).

6. Barkin, "Local Television News."

7. Karl J. Nestvold, "Diversity in Local Television News," Journal of Broadcasting, 17:345-352 (Summer 1973).

8. Tony Atwater, "Product Differentiation in Local Television News," Journalism Quarterly, 61:757-762 (Winter 1984).

9. Tony Atwater, "Consonance in Local Television News," Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 30:467-472 (Fall 1986).

10. James K. Buckalew, "News Elements and Selection by Television News Editors," Journal of Broadcasting, 17:47-55 (Winter 1969-70).

11. Raymond L. Carroll, "Content Values in TV News Programs in Small and Large Markets," Journalism Quarterly, 62:877- 882, 938 (Winter 1985).

12. Adams, "Local Television News Coverage and the Central City."

13. K. Tim Wulfemeyer, "A Content Analysis of Local Television Newscasts: Answering the Critics," Journal of Broadcasting, 26:1:481-86 (Winter 1982).

14. The following stations were studied: Detroit stations included WDIV, WJBK, WKBD, WXYZ; Lansing area stations included WLNS and WILX; the Alpena station, WBKB, at first agreed to send scripts and then declined; Portland stations included KATU, KGW, KOIN and KPTV; Eugene area stations included KEZI, KMTR, KVAL; the Bend station was KTVZ.

15. Various minor problems were encountered using the two methods. Using scripts proved difficult with three stations because the time length of the stories were not recorded. Use of tape was a problem with some newscasts because the overrun of preceding programs delayed the start of the newscasts. This resulted in losing large segments of two newscasts.

16. Locale of story was determined by location affected by the events or issues. Thus, a story from Lansing, Michigan, about the formal activities of the state Legislature would be classified as state.

17. Scott's pi for the coders was .52 for the first check on

locale, .68 for the second check on locale, and 1.00 for the check on SNG use. Scott's pi represents the percentage of agreement above chance.

18. Scott's pi for the first check was .74 for locale, and .62 for SNG use. Scott's pi for the second check was .88 for locale and .52 for SNG use.

19. Stephen Lacy and James M. Bernstein, " Daily Newspaper Content's Relationship to Publication Cycle and Circulation Size," Newspaper Research Journal, Spring 1988, pp. 49-57.

20. Wulfemeyer, "A Content Analysis of Local Television Newscasts: Answering the Critics."

21. Stephen Lacy, Tony Atwater and Angela Powers, "Use of Satellite Technology in Local Television News, Journalism Quarterly, 65:925-929, 966 (Winter 1988).

22. Stephen Lacy, "The Impact of Intercity Competition on Daily Newspaper Content."

TABLE 1

Percentage of All Stories in Large and Small Markets Devoted to Various Geographic Areas

	Market Size	
	Large	Small
Geographic Emphasis of Story		
Central City of ADI	28.5%	30.1%
Central County of ADI	13.5	16.0
ADI Area Outside of Central County	7.3	9.0
State	13.9	26.7
Region Outside of State	4.0	3.0
National	19.9	9.0
International	12.9	6.2
Story N	2,074	955
Station N	8	6

TABLE 2

Percentage of Newshole for Large and Small Markets Devoted to Various Geographic Areas[a]

	Market Size	
	Large	Small
Geogrpahic Emphasis of Stories		
Central City in ADI	32.2%	41.4%
Central County in ADI	14.6	13.3
ADI Area Outside of Central County	7.4	8.7
State	12.1	18.4
Region Outside of State	3.3	3.8
National	16.2	8.0
International	14.2	6.4
Average Newshole	31.55 minutes	21.8 minutes
Station N	8	3

[a] Newshole was defined as the total amount of time given to stories. The newshole was determined by summing the times for all the stories within a newscast.

TABLE 3

A Comparison of Percentage of Newshole in Large-Market Newscasts Devoted to Various Geographic Areas by the 1987 Michigan Stations, 1987 Oregon Stations and 1977 Pennsylvania Stations[a]

	State and Year		
Geographic Emphasis	Pennsylvania 1976	Michigan 1987	Oregon 1987
Within ADI Area	66.7%	55.9%	51.1%
State and Regional	17.2	10.8	20.7
National & International	16.1	33.3	28.2
Number of Stations	3	4	4

[a] The figures for Pennsylvania in 1976 were taken from William C. Adams, "Local Television News Coverage and the Central City," Journal of Broadcasting, 24:2:253-265 (Spring 1980). Because the content categories were not exactly the same, data from the Adams study and and this study were collapsed to three categories for comparison.

TABLE 4

Comparison of Geographic Emphasis
of Stories That Used SNG Technology
with Stories That Did Not Use SNG

Geographic Emphasis	SNG Used	SNG Not Used
Central City in ADI	5.0%	29.4%
Central County in ADI	10.0	14.4
Other ADI Areas	5.0	7.9
State	2.5	18.1
Region Outside State	7.5	3.6
National	10.0	16.5
International	60.0	10.1
Story N	40	2,989